UNITED
NATIONS

S

Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/23836
24 April 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 749 (1992)

INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted to the Security Council pursuant to its resolution 749 (1992), which was adopted unanimously on 7 April 1992, and pursuant to a statement of the President of the Council on 10 April 1992. In paragraph 6 of its resolution 749 (1992) on the full deployment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the Security Council appealed "to all parties and others concerned in Bosnia-Hercegovina to cooperate with the efforts of the European Community to bring about a cease-fire and a negotiated political solution". Following consultations among members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made a statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3068th meeting, on 10 April 1992 (S/23802), as follows:

> "The Security Council, alarmed by reports on rapid deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, reiterates the appeal in Security Council resolution 749 (1992), to all parties and others concerned in Bosnia-Hercegovina to stop the fighting immediately. It invites the Secretary-General to dispatch urgently to the area his Personal Envoy to act in close cooperation with representatives of the European Community whose current efforts are aimed at stopping the fighting and at bringing about a peaceful solution to the crisis, and to report to the Council."

2. On 10 April 1992, I met at Geneva with the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Mr. Haris Silajdzic, who asked for the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I once more emphasized the division of labour between the United Nations, whose peace-keeping mandate was limited to the situation in the Republic of Croatia, in accordance with the Security Council resolution, and the peace-making role of the European Community (EC) for Yugoslavia as a whole. Concerning his specific request, I observed that it might be more appropriate for EC to expand its presence and activities in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

3. In conjunction with the above statement of the President of the Security Council, I requested my Personal Envoy for Yugoslavia, the Honourable Cyrus R. Vance, to undertake his seventh mission to the region. I am grateful to Mr. Vance and his colleagues for the promptness with which they undertook this urgent mission.

4. Mr. Vance, accompanied by his Special Adviser, Ambassador Herbert S. Okun, undertook his mission from 14 to 18 April 1992. In the course of his mission, Mr. Vance conferred with four of the six Republic Presidents. In Belgrade, Mr. Vance was briefed by Lieutenant-General Satish Nambiar, the Commander of UNPROFOR. Mr. Vance also met with, among others, Acting Defence Minister and Army Chief of Staff, Colonel-General Blagoje Adzic, and the President of Serbia, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic. In Sarajevo, Mr. Vance met with Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, the President of Bosnia-Hercegovina, with the leaders of the two other communities, as well as with the regional Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) commander, General Kukanjac. In Zagreb, Mr. Vance conferred with President Franjo Tudjman and other senior Croatian officials. In Slovenia, Mr. Vance met with President Milan Kucan.

5. On his way back to New York, Mr. Vance met in Lisbon with Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro of Portugal, currently President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community (EC), and Ambassador José Cutileiro, the Plenipotentiary for Bosnia-Hercegovina of the Chairman of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington. They discussed the political, military and humanitarian aspects of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Mr. Vance reviewed with the Foreign Minister and Ambassador Cutileiro the situation obtaining on the ground during his mission. Foreign Minister Pinheiro reviewed with Mr. Vance current thinking within EC as regards the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

6. The complete programme of Mr. Vance's mission and the composition of his party are set out in annex I to the present report.

I. THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

7. The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina was the focus of the discussions held by Mr. Vance during his mission. All his interlocutors in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia agreed with him that a civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be a great tragedy. Such a war could not have any winner. All of them also agreed that there was no alternative to the tripartite talks being held under the chairmanship of the EC representative, Ambassador Cutileiro of Portugal. All of them specifically supported the agreement reached at Sarajevo on 12 April 1992 (see annex II to the present report). On all other relevant issues concerning the present conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, however, Mr. Vance's interlocutors held widely divergent views.

A. Military/political aspects

8. With respect to the military and political aspects of the current conflict, there was no consensus on the origins of the fighting, on whom the responsibility lay, nor was there agreement concerning the situation on the ground. President Milosevic of Serbia took the position that the principal responsibility for the fighting rested with the President of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that hostilities had been initiated not by forces

under his leadership, but rather by units from Croatia. He also asserted that the best solution was cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina within its existing borders along ethnic lines, with agreed jurisdictional competences, and a new constitution agreed upon by the three main communities.

9. President Tudjman of Croatia was firm in his position that regular Croatian Army troops were not involved in the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina. At the same time, he acknowledged that Croat irregulars, who had formerly been engaged in the conflict in Croatia, were fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, particularly in the Croat-majority region of Western Hercegovina. The President of Serbia, for his part, acknowledged the presence of Serb irregulars in the fighting, particularly along the west bank of the Drina River, while maintaining that the Republic of Serbia would not allow itself to be drawn into the conflict.

10. The JNA leadership held firmly to the view that all three communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina had some type of paramilitary forces, and that the communities all contained extremist elements that were difficult to control. On one point JNA was particularly emphatic: if its garrisons and other installations in Bosnia-Hercegovina were blockaded or attacked, as they had been previously in Croatia, JNA troops would react forcefully. In the view of the JNA leadership, a solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina should begin with the recognition of the presence of Croatian forces on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The JNA leadership further urged an immediate cease-fire accompanied by the withdrawal of all outside forces from Bosnia-Hercegovina. If that occurred, the military leaders indicated that the army would remain in the hot-spots and maintain law and order.

B. Intercommunal aspects

11. President Izetbegovic again requested the immediate deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping force in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In his view, the Serbian leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina, supported by JNA elements, had sought forcibly to alter the demographic composition of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in order to prejudge the outcome of a future ethnic division of the Republic. The President stated that JNA sided with the Serb territorials under the control of the Serb community leader, Dr. Radovan Karadzic. The President suggested a restructuring of the JNA leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina so that Muslims and Croats could be included in the army's higher command structure.

12. With respect to a final settlement on the constitutional status of Bosnia-Hercegovina, President Izetbegovic stated that the only solution was for experts from outside to draw a map cantonizing Bosnia-Hercegovina, in conjunction with the internal communities, and for everyone to live accordingly thereafter. He said, however, that the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina made excessive territorial claims and that was the source of the conflict. As regards the Conference on Yugoslavia, President Izetbegovic said he believed the pace of the negotiations should be accelerated.

13. Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) leaders at Sarajevo said that their community in Bosnia-Hercegovina desired to live in an independent Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. They stated that Bosnia-Hercegovina was their homeland, and not the Republic of Croatia. They pointed out that the Republic of Croatia had recognized the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. They demanded that the Republic of Serbia do the same. While accusing JNA of siding with Serb territorials, they stressed that JNA was the crucial element in a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

14. Serb community leaders denied responsibility for the violence at Sarajevo and in other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina. They also disclaimed control of the territorials operating in the hills surrounding Sarajevo. They asserted that President Izetbegovic wanted to create a unitary, fundamentalist, Islamic State. They maintained that he still resisted the establishment of geographically defined ethnic communities within Bosnia-Hercegovina. In their view, the "map issue" was the most urgent one. They demanded that work on geographic division begin with Sarajevo, because of the dangerous and violent situation prevailing in the capital. The Serb leaders claimed that the recent establishment of their own "Republic" in Bosnia-Hercegovina did not contradict Ambassador Cutileiro's negotiations.

II. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

15. The conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina is causing a huge new wave of displaced persons. On the day of Mr. Vance's visit to Sarajevo, the number of displacements rose to approximately 184,000, according to unofficial estimates of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). As of 20/21 April, the total number stood at approximately 230,000. During the week of Mr. Vance's visit to the area, the number of those displaced rose at an average of 30,000 per day. In this connection, it must be noted that this is in addition to about 900,000 displaced persons and refugees from the fighting in Croatia. In sum, the conflicts in the former Yugoslav lands have resulted in well over 1 million displaced persons and refugees.

16. UNHCR has responded to the new crisis by immediately delivering food aid, in addition to its ongoing programme. Meanwhile, the provision of basic human needs is significantly hindered by the continued fighting, the great number of roadblocks, and the hijacking of vehicles. Bilateral donors have been mobilized and have begun to respond to the appeal. Much more needs to be done, however, and done quickly.

17. On 11 April 1992, UNHCR concluded a "Sarajevo Declaration" with the three political parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They agreed, inter alia, to adhere to the principle that the treatment of displaced persons is to be based on strictly humanitarian, non-political and non-discriminatory criteria (see annex III to the present report). The JNA Commanding Officer in Bosnia-Hercegovina assured Mr. Vance that he would do everything in his power to assist UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations in their endeavours to provide basic human aid to the displaced population.

18. President Kucan expressed his deep concern about the growing humanitarian crisis as a result of the ongoing fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Displaced persons from Bosnia-Hercegovina continued to arrive in increasing numbers in the Republic of Slovenia. Slovenia had appealed to Austria to open its border, and Austria had responded favourably. The refugee crisis, however, could not be resolved by Austria and Slovenia alone. President Kucan characterized it as a Europe-wide problem.

III. UNPROFOR

19. During his mission, Mr. Vance met twice with Lieutenant-General Satish Nambiar, the Commander of UNPROFOR, visited his headquarters and met with his chief military and civilian aides. Mr. Vance reported to me that he was very impressed by UNPROFOR and that General Nambiar has gained the trust and confidence of all sides.

20. I have decided to advance the dispatch of unarmed military observers to Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Concept Paper of UNPROFOR originally envisaged the deployment of these military observers after the demilitarization of the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) (see S/23280, annex III, para. 13). Beginning on 30 April 1992, 41 observers will operate within the opstine (municipalities) of Mostar, Capljina, Stolac and Trebinje.

IV. OBSERVATIONS

21. It is clear from the report that I have received from Mr. Vance that the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina has worsened markedly since his last visit to the area, 3-9 March 1992.

22. The current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is characterized by massive mistrust among the communities of the Republic; all the parties tend to blame each other; mutual recriminations abound; the cycle of violence is escalating.

23. It is equally clear that the parties hold conflicting and contradictory views on almost all aspects of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. My Personal Envoy came to the firm conclusion from his extensive discussions with all the parties, as well as from his consultations in Lisbon, that no party to the conflict is blameless for the current situation and its escalation. I share Mr. Vance's assessment that all sides have to bear some of the responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict and its continuation.

24. It is essential that a cease-fire on the basis of the agreement of 12 April comes into effect immediately. I share the view of my Personal Envoy that there is no alternative to concluding and implementing the constitutional

arrangements being developed at the tripartite talks under the auspices of Ambassador Cutileiro. All the parties have expressed their readiness to participate further in these talks, and should do so promptly and unconditionally.

25. It is also essential that work at the Conference on Yugoslavia continue to be pressed forward with vigour and determination, together with EC endeavours to bring about a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

26. The deteriorating humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is of great concern to me. The fighting makes it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to provide for the most basic human needs of the innocent victims of this tragic conflict. This situation also puts the personnel of UNHCR and other international organizations at serious risk. Therefore, I once more appeal to all parties to stop fighting and to start implementing their agreement of 12 April.

27. My Personal Envoy informed President Izetbegovic and other interlocutors that, in the light of all the factors bearing on the current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the deployment of a peace-keeping force there was not feasible. Given the limitations on human, material and financial resources, and especially in view of the current widespread violence, he could not recommend to me such a course of action. I fully concur with my Personal Envoy on this point. The sad fact is that the present conditions in Bosnia-Hercegovina make it impossible to define a workable concept for a United Nations peace-keeping operation.

Annex I

Mission to Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zagreb, Mokrice and Lisbon

The mission was led by the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General, the Honourable Cyrus R. Vance, and comprised the following additional members:

- Ambassador Herbert S. Okun,
  Special Adviser to the Personal Envoy

- Horst Heitmann,
  Political Affairs Officer,
  Department of Political Affairs

- Stanley Ignaciuk,
  Operations Officer

Itinerary and schedule of the Vance mission

Tuesday, 14 April 1992

Time

1930 Departure from New York.

Wednesday, 15 April 1992

0800 Arrival at Geneva.

0905 Departure from Geneva.

1035 Arrival at Belgrade.

1200 Press conference.

1230 Working luncheon with General Satish Nambiar, UNPROFOR Commander; Mr. Cedric Thornberry, Chief Civilian Officer; Mr. Keith Walton, Chief Administrative Officer; Ms. Judith Kumin, UNHCR.

1415 Meeting with General Nambiar and Mr. Thornberry.

1700 Meeting with Acting Defence Minister, Colonel-General Blagoje Adzic and Lieutenant-General Andrija Raseta.

1800 Followed by a tête-à-tête meeting of Mr. Vance and General Adzic.

Parallel meeting of Ambassador Okun with General Raseta.

Time

1830 Informal meeting with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic of Serbia.

1845 Meeting with President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Foreign Minister Jovanovic.

1945 Meeting with press.

2000 Working dinner with President Milosevic and Foreign Minister Jovanovic.

Thursday, 16 April 1992

0830 Departure from Belgrade.

0905 Arrival at Sarajevo.

0930 Meeting with President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

1045 Press conference of Mr. Vance with President Izetbegovic.

1100 Meeting with leaders of the Croatian HDZ party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Messrs. Brkic, Kljuic and Boras.

Noon Meeting with leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Karadzic and Mr. Koljevic.

1300 Meeting with General Milutin Kukanjac and Colonel Branco Cado.

1420 Press conference of Mr. Vance with General Kukanjac.

1500 Working luncheon with President Izetbegovic.

1520 Tête-à-tête of Mr. Vance with President Izetbegovic.

Parallel meeting of Ambassador Okun with representatives of the Bosnian Chamber of Commerce and with Mr. Colm Doyle, EC representative in Sarajevo.

1545 Briefing by Mr. Doyle.

1610 Departure from Sarajevo.

1640 Arrival at Belgrade.

1710 Meeting with Acting Defence Minister General Adzic; General Panic, Deputy Chief of Staff; and General Raseta.

1915 Meeting with Ms. Judith Kumin and Mr. Jean Noël Wetterwald of UNHCR.

Friday, 17 April 1992

0835 Departure from Belgrade.

0920 Arrival at Graz.

1000 Departure from Graz.

1200 Arrival at Zagreb.

1205-1330 Tête-à-tête of Mr. Vance with President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia.

Parallel meeting of Ambassador Okun with Chief of Cabinet Hrvoje Sarinic and Minister of Defence Gojko Susak.

1330 Press conference of Mr. Vance with President Tudjman.

1340 Working luncheon with President Tudjman, Defence Minister Susak, Chief of Staff Sarinic, General Tus, Chairman Kacic, Deputy Prime Minister Granic, and other senior officials.

1500 Meeting with Colonel Aryal and Mr. Sune Sandstrom of UNPROFOR Zagreb (Logbase Zulu).

1520 Departure from Zagreb.

1540 Arrival at Castle Mokrice.

1545 Meeting with President Milan Kucan of Slovenia, Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, Under-Secretary Zvone Dragan, and Mr. Ivo Vajgl, spokesman of the Slovene Foreign Minister.

1710 Press conference of Mr. Vance with President Kucan.

1745 Departure from Mokrice.

1945 Arrival at Graz.

2000 Departure from Graz.

2115 Arrival at Geneva.

Saturday, 18 April 1992

0900 Departure from Geneva.

1000 (GMT) Arrival at Lisbon.

Time

1145 Meeting with Ambassador José Cutileiro.

1300 Working luncheon with Foreign Minister Deus Pinheiro and Ambassador Cutileiro.

1500 Departure from Lisbon.

1720 Arrival in London.

1850 Departure from London.

2100 Arrival in New York.

Annex II

Bosnia-Hercegovina - Cease-fire Agreement, 12 April 1992

The leaders of the three main parties of Bosnia and Hercegovina - aware of the extremely serious situation now prevailing in the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina;

Solemnly agree:

- To declare an immediate and total cease-fire on all the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina, starting on Sunday, 12 April, at midnight.

- To stop all activities that can provoke fear and instability among the population like the action of snipers and the bombardment of Sarajevo and other towns and villages. All house searches, barricades and general arbitrary actions of all kinds should stop immediately.

- All threatening artillery should be removed under the control of the EC Monitors simultaneously with the suspension of all mobilization. These two actions should start within 24 hours of the cease-fire.

- To disband all irregular armed forces, in accordance with an agreed timetable. This will be conducted under the supervision and control of the EC Monitors.

- To start in the most urgent way work on defining the areas of future constituent units of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

- In this context the three main parties reaffirm their opposition to any territorial gain by force and agree on the right of return for the refugees, without adverse consequences in respect of employment or otherwise.

The three parties agree that all parties should have equal access to television.

Sarajevo, 12 April 1992

Annex III

Sarajevo Declaration on the Humanitarian Treatment of Displaced Persons

The Party of Democratic Action (SDA), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), under the auspices of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR),

Considering the particular problems of displaced persons in Bosnia and Hercegovina,

Acknowledging that they were compelled to leave their homes as a result of the conflict and tensions which affect the neighbouring Republics and some areas of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and which continue to generate new displacement,

Concerned by the tragedy of tens of thousands of people, most of them women, children and the elderly, who all suffer the bitter consequences of the conflict equally, regardless of their ethnic, religious or national origin,

Pledging to promote the respect of internationally recognized human rights, including those applying to displaced persons,

Affirming that voluntary return with full guarantees of security and non-discrimination is the basic right of the displaced and the best means to achieve a lasting solution to their plight,

Acknowledging the deteriorating economy in the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the urgent need for increased assistance from the international community to alleviate the situation of the displaced and their host families,

Agreed:

To adhere to the principle that the treatment of displaced persons is to be based on strictly humanitarian, non-political and non-discriminatory criteria and that the drama of displacement is not to be misused for political or sectarian ends,

To promote initiatives at the regional, municipal and local levels aimed at preventing further displacement and at establishing adequate guarantees to allow for the return of the displaced in Bosnia and Hercegovina to their places of origin or former residence,

To support the initiative to establish a tripartite commission between the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina and UNHCR to define principles, guarantees and procedures aimed at facilitating the return of displaced persons to the Republic of Croatia,

To express their gratitude and firm support to UNHCR for the role it is playing in assisting and protecting the displaced and in particular, for the initiatives being undertaken to encourage negotiation and dialogue among all relevant parties,

To call upon all political structures and the supporters of the signatory parties, the military, the republican, municipal and local authorities and the inhabitants of Bosnia and Hercegovina, to cooperate with UNHCR and other international humanitarian organizations and to provide them the protection and support required for the fulfilment of their humanitarian functions,

To draw the attention of the international community to the grave economic situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina, aggravated by the presence of close to 100,000 displaced persons in the Republic and to seek international support and cooperation both on a bilateral and multilateral basis, through UNHCR or other humanitarian agencies,

To promote the strengthening of the local, established relief structures in order to ensure the efficient distribution of assistance according to non-political, non-sectarian criteria,

To meet again at the initiative of any one of the undersigned parties in order to evalute the implementation of this agreement, and to adopt further resolutions as may be considered appropriate,

To disseminate this Declaration through all channels at the disposal of the undersigned,

(Signed):	(Signed):	(Signed):
Alija IZETBOGOVIC President Party of Democratic Action	Radovan KARADZIC President Serbian Democratic Party	Miljenko BRKIC President Croatian Democratic Community

Under the auspices of:
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

(Signed) Jose Maria MENDILUCE
Special Envoy of the
High Commissioner

11 April 1992